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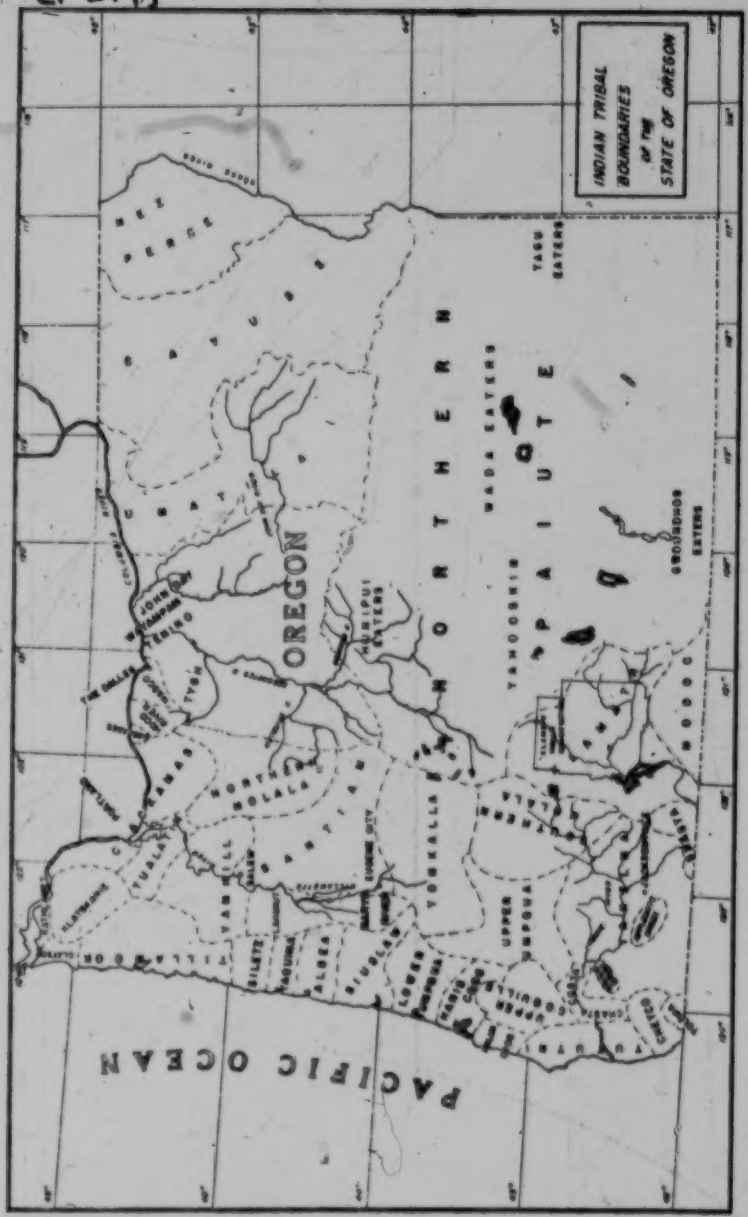
[For information on the U.S. government's care and administration of the Klamath on the established Klamath reservation, see category 116, pp. xv-xvi, 44-121, 125-181, 185-255, 259-266 and 316-317.]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 279]



Adapted from "Indian Tribes and Languages of the Old Oregon Country" (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Historical Society, 1958). Data compiled by Claude Schaeffer. (Used by permission of the Oregon Historical Society.)

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

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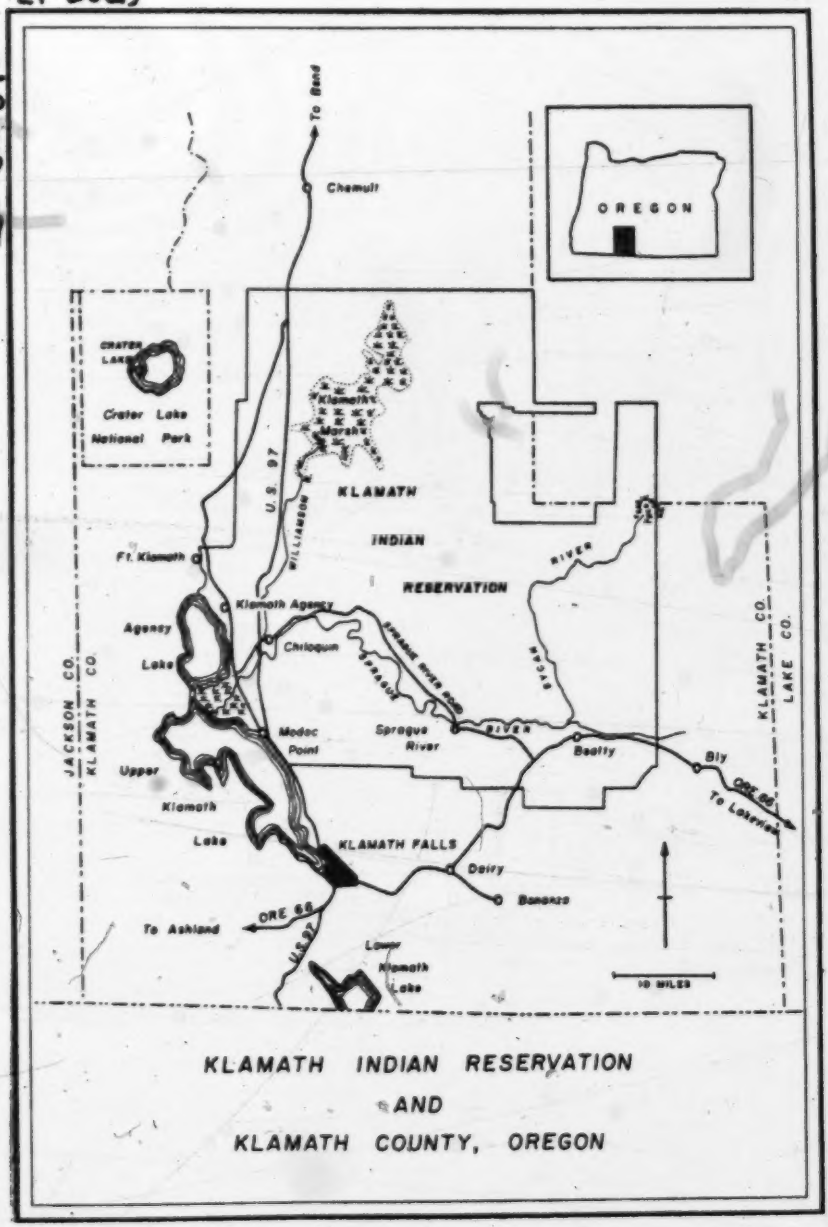

KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
AND
KLAMATH COUNTY, OREGON

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present population, White or Klamath.

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties: to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups, whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency, the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities, all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life, so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere, in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40 percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods." Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are not easily distinguished in dress and language.

The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money" had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly, local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners. The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are patronized largely by Klamath.

In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a small assimilated minority.

Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street. However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays, repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless, lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women. The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
[848] borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[563] but-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[588] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
[777] and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
[591] there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[777] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
592 co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
571 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly extreme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual ownership of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father, that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with regard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
●657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
434 industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments, which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a serious source of strain in household groups.

drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline in test performance and grades.

Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In 1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency. On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now, and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers, and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker. Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy. At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended by supervision."

Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally, and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant, or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

and the modes of behaving through which the Klamath interact with their behavioral milieu. For this reason it is not to be supposed that White exclusionism or Agency policy alone are the significant antecedents of the stable pluralism of reservation life. For a Klamath to leave the amorphous atmosphere of his home or the circle of his drinking pals to enter into the unfamiliar and unprepared-for activities of White life is a source of fear and anxiety. [18] [65]

Thus, however it may seem to the outsider, the existing way of life on the Klamath reservation offers substantial predictability to tribal members, a place to live, a corporate body with which to identify, and multiple stable human relationships. As a cultural system it may be stable in form although changing in detail, and therefore this novel set of human relationships is not likely to quickly disappear. The Klamath today may not be the same persons who were settled on the reservation a century ago, and aboriginal Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute cultural attributes may have disappeared, yet they are still self-consciously Indian. In studies of acculturation, it is frequently argued that groups like the Klamath are marginal, that is, hung suspended between two cultural worlds. We feel that such a metaphor is both confusing and misleading. It assumes the presence of a reasonably intact cultural alter of aboriginal design and a unilineal path of acculturation process. As indicated above, the former is not present on the contemporary Klamath reservation. As to the latter, we argue that the structural consequences of acculturation are many, and a lineal assimilation process is only one of them. The Klamath situation, we feel, is that of an unassimilated minority group which is itself very actively engaged in maintaining its special position and which is subject to multiple external pressures for maintaining its present boundaries. The Klamath are, therefore, in a position analogous to religious and racial enclaves. They are a group distinct from and in some ways opposed to American culture who fit, as it were, into a special niche in the larger structure of American society. If the term marginality is to be used with reference to any Klamath individual it can only refer to his orientation towards conflicting reference groups in the heterogeneous contemporary community. [177] [171] [18] [65] [12]

Section III. Approach to the Rorschach Protocols

The interpretive approach to the Rorschach protocols was dictated to a large extent by the overall purpose of the investigation. An avowedly inductive and idiographic study requires a broadly clinical, not a narrowly statistical, analysis of the obtained Rorschach responses. The conclusions reached on the basis of this kind of research may be considered hypotheses to be tested in controlled deductive research. [12] [125]

The validity of the Rorschach method for personality exploration is not at issue in the present study; there are obviously more clear-cut and efficient research methods available for that purpose. Rather, the test is being utilized as one means of gaining insights about the adaptive mechanisms of individuals in a particular sub-group that is undergoing an acculturation process — a case-study approach. These insights may lead hopefully to theoretical advances in that area of study called Culture and Personality.

From this statement of the general purpose of the research, several specific methodological decisions follow. It becomes clear immediately that there will be no comparisons of groups by statistical methods and few statistical tabulations of group means and standard deviations. There will be no description of that artificial construct — the modal Klamath personality. On the contrary, [12]

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[595] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
[733] William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[83] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[587] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
[871] three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[178] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri, California, and Mexico.

*[651] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
[464] for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five, and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children." Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
[577] is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[171] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values, and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[91] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
[871] English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
[593] can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
[603] children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect, Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
[861] spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
[871] carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[171] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159
157 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
156 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate interchanges and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159 156 [461] [891] [592] [434] *[657] Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen. Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger siblings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] 582 [618] [221] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household [593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per- [848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity, which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's *159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards 156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or 593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting, and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls, and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

[421] Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom she spends much time.

*159 156 [673] [512] Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[151] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
[124] absence of a restrained movement response.

157 One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
156 Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, interests, or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion, of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another characteristic of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath sel-
[125] dom have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
155 culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
•65 the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
[171] realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insula-
[158] tion of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
158 In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate adjustment may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduc-
[121] tion of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diagnosis of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation. The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

On the face of these parallel descriptions it would seem that the Klamath are similar, as regards guarded restraint, to a variety of differently situated, differentially acculturated North American Indian populations, populations with diverse cultural heritages. These similarities are, of course, susceptible to different explanations. It would be a simple matter, for example, to explain away the similarities as false, that is, as being a function of unreliable techniques of assessment and highly ambiguous descriptive constructs or constructs lacking in validity. Aside from being no explanation at all, this approach would involve discarding most of the available cross-cultural psychological data as well as existing assessments of the personality dynamics of North American Indians. Although this is the course advocated by many methodological puritans in the area of culture and personality research we choose to accept the similarities as valid. 121 156 157 171 177 [114]

A second way of explaining these similarities might invoke the assumption of an underlying "North American Indian" character structure or basic personality analogous to Devereux's delineation of a core personality type for the Plains (Devereux 1951). Accepting this assumption the persistence of core traits must then somehow be accounted for. In the instance of the Plains, Devereux presents one possibility, namely that acculturation has resulted in a "stripped-down" and impoverished personality type (Devereux 1951: 25). Somewhat differently, Hallowell and his followers have argued that basic personality somehow manages to weather the vicissitudes of history and acculturation (Hallowell 1955: 309; Spindler 1955: 151). The common feature of both of these explanations is the assumption of an underlying, basic set of psychological characteristics linked to aboriginal prototypes and common to the population occupying a given culture area. [114]

In the instance of the Klamath there is very little evidence to suggest, unequivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant component of aboriginal character structure. The information is scanty and points to the definite presence of great reserve and considerable suspicion, but only as one mode of interpersonal relations among others. Moreover, the Klamath reservation situation does not allow a comparison of differentially acculturated groups after the model used by Hallowell for the Ojibwa, and the effort to apply Spindler's technique of an internal comparison raised more problems than it resolved in this setting. Finally, the evidence from the Klamath psychological data indicates that, if anything, older members of the tribe are less reserved and suspicious. In short, we cannot assert from available evidence that guarded restraint was basic or dominant in aboriginal Klamath character structure. We suggest that at minimum this characteristic was present, but that it did not receive the emphasis it now gets. 121 156 157 177 [65]• [171]

Aside from this difficulty, there are a great many conceptual problems associated with the postulation of an underlying, basic trait of guarded restraint for the North American Indians generally. We feel that it is stretching the point to attempt to account for present similarities among unrelated cultures of such different cultural heritages with a construct so broad. Due to the absence of firm measures of aboriginal character structure this approach to explanation also involves substantial methodological problems which are not easily resolved. 121 156 157 171

Instead of explaining contemporary similarities in either of these ways it is possible to view modern Indian populations in the light of common acculturative experiences and their status as dependent wards, as enclaved minority groups, and as persons who have been promised much but who have attained little. Spindler has suggested that when acculturation conditions permit both a ready identification 121 156 157 171 177

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THE HOME OF THE PEOPLE.

131 The home of the Klamath tribe of southwestern Oregon lies upon the
657 eastern slope of the southern extremity of the Cascade Range, and very
648 nearly coincides with what we may call the headwaters of the Klamath River, the main course of which lies in Northern California. Its limits are outlined in a general manner in the first paragraph of the treaty concluded between the Federal Government and the Indians, dated October 14, 1864, which runs as follows: "The Indians cede all the country included between the water-shed of the Cascade Mountains to the mountains dividing Pit and McCloud Rivers from the waters on the north; thence along this water-shed eastwards to the southern end of Goose Lake; thence northeast to the southern end of Harney Lake;* thence due north to the forty-fourth degree of latitude; thence west along this same degree to Cascade Range." It must be remarked that the homes and hunting-grounds of two "bands" of the Snake Indians were included within these limits, for these people were also made participants to the treaty.

Here, as with all other Indian tribes, the territory claimed must be divided into two parts, the districts inclosing their habitual dwelling-places and those embodying their hunting and fishing grounds, the latter being of course much larger than the former and inclosing them. The habitual haunts and dwelling-places of the tribes were on the two Klamath Lakes, on Klamath Marsh, on Tule Lake, and on Lost River. Some of these localities are inclosed within the Klamath Reservation, of which we will speak below.

133 The Cascade Range is a high mountain ridge following a general direction from north to south, with some deflections of its main axis. The line of perpetual snow is at least 10,000 feet above the sea-level, and the altitude of the highest peaks about 12,000 to 14,000 feet. On the west side the sloping is more gradual than on the east side, where abrupt precipices and steep slopes border the Klamath highlands and the valley of Des Chutes River. The range is the result of upheaval and enormous volcanic

* Harney Lake is the western portion of Malheur Lake, and now united with it into a single sheet of water.

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133 considerable size.* Hot springs of sulphuric taste flow westward east of Linkville, one of them showing a temperature of 190° Fahr.

The Klamath Reservation is studded with a large number of isolated and short volcanic hill ridges, with a general direction from northwest to southeast. South of Klamath Marsh there are elevations culminating at 5,650 and 6,000 feet, and in Fuego Mountain 7,020 feet are attained. Yámsi Peak, between Klamath Marsh and Sykan Marsh (5,170 feet) reaches an altitude of not less than 8,242 feet, thus rivaling many peaks of the [657] Cascade Range. The Black Hills, south of Sykan (Saikéni) Marsh, rise to 133 6,410 feet, but are surpassed by several elevations south of Sprague River, 103 near the middle course of which the Yáneks Agency (4,450 feet) is situated. Sprague River (P'laíkni k̲ók̲e), the most considerable tributary of Williamson River, drains a valley rich in productive bottoms and in timber.

The basaltic ridge, which forms a spur of the Cascade Range and passes east of Fort Klamath (I-ukák), slopes down very abruptly toward the Quaternary lake basin, now forming a low marshy prairie and watered by Wood River (E-uk̲alkshíni k̲ók̲e), which enters upper Klamath Lake near Koháshti and by Seven Mile Creek, nearer the Cascade Range. This basaltic spur, called Yánalti by the Indians, represents the eastern side of a huge fault-fissure. Its altitude constantly decreases until it is crossed by a rivulet one-eighth of a mile long, called Beetle's Rest (Tgúlutcham Kshutē'lsh), which issues from a pond, drives a mill, and then joins Crooked River (Yánalti k̲ók̲e, or Tutashtalíksini k̲ók̲e). This beautiful spring and stream were selected by the Government as the site for the Klamath Agency buildings. The old agency at Koháshti (Guhuáshkshi or "Starting-place") on the lake, three miles south, was abandoned, and a subagency established at Yáneks. The agency buildings are hidden in a grove of lofty pine trees. South of these the ridge rises again and culminates in an elevation, called Pítsua (4,680 feet). The junction of Sprague and Williamson Rivers is marked by a rock called Ktái-Tupákshi, and described in Dictionary, page 149, as of mythic fame. South of Sprague River the ledge rises again, and, approaching close to the lake shore, forms Modoc Point, a bold head-

[114] * I have not been able to visit *personally* other parts of the Klamath highlands than the eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake, from Fort Klamath to Linkville.

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175 648 treaty with these Indians more forcibly before the Government than ever before. In compliance with instructions from Indian Commissioner William P. Dole, Superintendent J. W. Perit Huntington, accompanied by Agent Logan, went through the Des Chutes Valley to Fort Klamath, and found there a large number of Indians of both sexes assembled, seven hundred and ten of whom were Klamath Lake, three hundred and thirty-nine Modoc people, and twenty-two of the Yahuskin band of Snake Indians. They unanimously concurred in the desire that Lindsey Applegate, a settler of Jackson County, Oregon, be appointed as their agent. The treaty was concluded on the 14th of October, 1864, and duly signed by the contracting parties, including twenty-six chiefs and principal men of the tribes. Huntington's estimate of funds necessary for fulfilling treaty stipulations and subsisting the Indians the first year amounted to a total of $69,400. The text of the treaty being too long for insertion entire, I restrict myself here to the contents of the principal paragraphs:

175 648 657 Article 1 stipulates the cession of the territory described above (p. xvi), and sets apart as a *reservation* for the tribes referred to the tract included within the limits following: Beginning upon the Point of Rocks, about twelve miles south of the mouth of Williamson River,* the boundary follows the eastern shore north to the mouth of Wood River; thence up Wood River to a point one mile north of the bridge at Fort Klamath; thence due east to the summit of the ridge which divides the upper and middle Klamath Lakes (now called Klamath Marsh and Upper Klamath Lake); thence along said ridge to a point due *east* of the north end of the upper lake; thence due east, passing the said north end of the upper lake to the summit of the mountains on the east side of the lake; thence along said mountain to the point where Sprague's River is intersected by the Ish-tish-ea-wax Creek (probably Meryl Creek); then in a southerly direction to the summit of the mountain, the extremity of which forms the Point of Rocks; thence along said mountain to the place of beginning. The tribes will remove to this reservation immediately after the ratification of the treaty and remain thereon. No whites, except employés and officers of the United States Government, are allowed to reside upon this tract, and the Indians have

*At the foot of Nilakshi Mountain.

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175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

313 Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
256 mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
874 and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
783 the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

423 Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

273 Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation, and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon, the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

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175 to be paid only after the ratification of the treaty by the President and the
648 Senate, which did not take place till five years after the conclusion, viz,
657 February 17, 1870. Meanwhile the Indians were always subject to the possibility of being removed from the homes of their ancestors by the stroke of a pen. The bungling composition of the document appears from the fact that a grave mistake was committed by inserting the term "east" instead of *west* (italicized in our text above), and by not mentioning the land grant made to the Oregon Central Military Wagon Road Company before 1864, which, when insisted upon, would, with its twelve-mile limits, take away the best parts of the Reserve, the Sprague River Valley, for instance. At the time when I visited the country, in the autumn of 1877, the Klamath Lake Indians showed much animosity against the settlers establishing themselves within their domain. The company having left many portions of their projected wagon road unfinished, Congress, by act approved March 2, 1889, directed the Attorney-General to cause suits to be brought within six months from that date, in the name of the United States, in the United States Circuit Court for Oregon, to try the questions, among others, of the seasonable and proper completion of said road, and to obtain judgments, which the court was authorized to render, declaring forfeited to the United States all lands lying conterminous with those parts of the road which were not constructed in accordance with the requirements of the granting act. (Cf. on this subject Ex. Doc. 131, House of Representatives, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, and Ex. Doc. 124, Senate, Fiftieth Congress.)

The first representative of the Government, Subagent Lindsey Applegate, erected some buildings at the northwest point of Upper Klamath Lake, called Skohuáshki (abbr. Kohásht); but as early as 1866 he called attention to the fact that the place had no suitable water-power, but that three miles above the little creek at Beetle's Rest was a most excellent motor for driving a saw-mill and a grist-mill, and, being on the edge of the pine woods, was a well-fitted and shady place for the agency buildings. This advice was followed in 1868, two years before the ratification of the
177 treaty. In the same year the old practice of cremating dead bodies was
764 abandoned and inhumation introduced. The grave-yard was established around the ash-pile of cremation, still visible in 1877, and in 1878 a second

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177 764 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point, one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 648 652 [797] President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,* and the spiritual interests of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Máklaks, Horatio Hale,† the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont‡ of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Govern-

* Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 350.

† Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

‡ Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

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114 that these explorations were the starting-point of all further researches upon the Pacific coast, and as such they are creditable to the men with whom and the epoch at which they originated.

The topographic map of the Klamath headwaters is now being prepared by the U. S. Geological Survey. It is laid out upon a scale of 1 to 250,000, with contour intervals of 200 feet, the rivers and water sheets in blue. The sheets are named as follows: Ashland, Klamath,* Shasta, Modoc Lava Bed, Alturas—the last three belonging to California. The surveys were made from 1883 to 1887 by Henry Gannett, chief geographer, A. H. Thompson, geographer in charge; triangulation by the George M. Wheeler survey, by Mark B. Kerr; and topography, by Eugene Ricksecker and partly by Mark B. Kerr.

THE MODOC WAR OF 1872–1873.

175 The well-known maxim, "it is cheaper to feed the Indians than to
648 fight them," has forced itself upon the governments of all American coun-
657 tries in such indelible characters that it has become a rule for them to conclude treaties with the different "nations" to keep them at peace, feed them by rations or annuities, and confine them within the limits of certain territories. The treaty of 1864 was not attended by all the favorable results expected. The Snake Indians ran off from the Reservation during April, 1866, the Modocs in 1865. The latter tribe were not compelled to leave their old domain, now ceded to the United States, till 1869. Moreover, it always takes several years to gather straying Indians upon a reservation
000 after a treaty has become an accomplished fact. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, Mr. Meacham, on December 30, 1869, after a long and excited "talk," succeeded in bringing two hundred and fifty-eight Modocs to Modoc Point, upon the reservation allotted to them. On April 26, 1870, the supply of rations was exhausted, and the more obstinate half of the tribe left the Reservation again for the old domain upon Lost River and the lakes, whereas the other half, under Skóntchish, went to Yáneks, on Sprague River, where the Superintendent located them. All Modocs

* The name for the sheet east of Klamath has not yet been determined.

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could not remain unpunished. Brought before a jury at Fort Klamath, Kíntpuash, Chief Skóntchish, Black or Húka Jim, and Boston Charley were condemned to the gallows and hung at the Fort October 3, 1873, while two accessories to the deed—Bántcho and Slû'lks (now George Denny)—were condemned to incarceration at Fort Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay.*

Thus ended the long-contested struggle of the little Modoc band against the Oregon and California volunteers and the regular troops of the United States Army. Certainly the heroism and ingenuity displayed by the Modocs would have been worthy of a better cause, and would have passed down to posterity in the brightest colors of patriotism had not the murderous "entreacte" and Canby's death deprived the struggle of its heroic luster. The unworthy termination of this war is well typified by the fact that the skeleton of the Modoc captain is now dangling as an anatomical specimen in the museum of the Surgeon-General's Office, at Washington, District of Columbia.

STATISTICS.

From the end of the Modoc war to the present year the condition of affairs has not changed much in the Klamath Highlands. The reports of the United States agent repeat the same story of progress towards civilization every year; but in view of the difficulty of bringing a hunter tribe into the high road of Christian culture and industrial progress we can not attach much credence to such reports so long as they are couched in generalities and do not contain special facts attesting mental improvement by schooling.

In agriculture success is possible only in the Sprague River Valley, but pasturing will succeed almost on every spot of the Reservation. The report of 1888, compared with that of 1880, shows a considerable improvement in this direction. The 2,500 horses and mules counted in 1880 had increased to 4,532 in 1888; the 200 head of cattle to 2,201. In the latter year the number of swine figured 208, of domestic fowl, 1,000. Of the 20,000 tillable acres of land 1,400 were cultivated by the Indians in

* Slû'lks was released, and stays now at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory, with Scarface Charley and some other warriors of that war.

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1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences. The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This necessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lílo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

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161 657 162 The Snake Indians were not counted at that time, but were assumed to have the same population as in 1876: 137. This gives a total of Indians for the Reservation of 896. This count included about eight mixed bloods and seven Warm Spring Indians from the Des Chutes River. The boarding-school at the Klamath Agency then had eighteen pupils of both sexes.

The reports of the Indian Commissioner for 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, and 1884 can not be fully relied on, since they give the same figures for *each* of these years with an unvarying total of 1,023 Indians—Klamaths, 707; Modocs, 151; Snake Indians, 165.

The report of 1888, Joseph Emery agent, gives 788 Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians and 145 Snake Indians, a total of 933 individuals.

Probably the most reliable data were furnished by the Indian census made in 1881 for the United States Census Bureau, from March to August:

	Klamaths.	Modocs.	Molals.	Snakes.	Totals.
Total of tribes on Reservation	676	122	55	165	1,018
Number of males	286	58	30	80	454
Number of females	390	64	25	85	564
Unmarried at fourteen years and upwards	109	6	9	11	135
Number married	386	55	14	65	420
Number of full bloods	664	122	53	165	1,004
Number of mixed bloods	12	.....	2	.....	14
Number below twenty-one years	291	58	35	89	473
Number above twenty-one years	385	64	20	76	545
Supported one half or more by civilized industries	36	6	7	.....	49
Supported one-half or more by Government	38	3	.....	2	43
Number wearing citizens' dress	630	112	55	165	962
Acres under cultivation	2,249	140	36	.....	2,425
Number attending school	36	1	.....	3	40

This enumeration is remarkable on account of the large number of Molale Indians mentioned in it, an element of the population which is nowhere else designated as such in the periodical reports made by the agents.

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173 28, 2. gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. 29, 19.

*539 28, 2. sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 28, 3 and 4. wéwaläks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom principally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes from the raiders.

648

[193] [192] [222] 28, 4. k̲'lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

[192] 28, 8. kilō's, or k̲ilū's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sessclólish lak̲i).

[193] [192] [657] 28, 13. Moadoki'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also 28, 1: wéwanuish (wéwan'sh) for wewanuíshash (shläá gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchi'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

[657] [175] 28, 14. Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

[175] The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq., mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

[103] 29, 3. Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

29, 10. tálaat tχalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tχalamti'tal, due west.

[192] 29, 17 and 19. nā'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépksl, for nā'lash a gépkash i.

hishnáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi nî snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, ká-i hû'nk
husband here whips, then I wife that punish, not the
hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

Tsúi tchik kíuks tchî'sh tîtatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k'lēká tawî'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

Tsúi nî nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip shâppash spû'lhi·síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nish
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

sχókta tû'nip, tsúi nî ká-i spû'lhit sχoktî'sht nish. Tsúi tch lakí ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison he having paid (him), me. And (if) a chief beats

m'na snáwädsh, tsúi nî snä'kēlua; gä'tak lakí gi hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

58–62. The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."* This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

58, 4. Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

58, 10 etc. The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in palluápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

58, 10. ksaggayuapkámsni is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

58, 11. wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

* Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

*539 Tsúi Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shemtchálχa tawī'sht Doctor Johnash k̲'lekáp-
683 Then Aunt Susie discovered that had be- witched Dr. John the de-
[697] kash; tsúi mbû'shant waitólank ná-ent waítashtka í'lktcha; Doctor Johnash
ceased; and next day being over on other day buried (him): Dr. John
3 tchī'sh sha shpúnshna, at k̲léwiank sha Doctor Johnash shpúnshampĕlank
also they conveyed, now after their return Dr. John taking along
shpúlhi, tchúi sha k̲á-ishuank skúkum-house mpámpatkia tchíkĕminatka.
imprisoned, and they locking the strong-house nailed (it) down with (iron-) nails.
Tchikéskni Shkélaksh tû'la shpúlhi Doctor Johnash. Tchúi tchiwí'χa
Tchikéskni Shélag with imprisoned Dr. John. And he sat in
6 hátokt, tchúi hû'ksha gä'mpĕle spulhí'tkuk. Pän ndä'ni tchĕk waitólank
therein, and these men went home after imprisonment. Again three at last days past
Shχélag gátpa ktû'tp'nuk pä'sh; tchúi Sχélag gä'mpĕle káyak hassasuákiank
Shélag came to bring (him) food; and Shélag returned not at all having spoken
Doctor Johnash. Pän géna Sχélag ndáni waitólank pásh änſyuk; shû'lip-
to Dr. John. Again went Shélag three days elapsed victuals to bring; hand-
9 kank p'laſkni hak shéwana Doctor Johnash, P'lú toks lápĕni shéwana
ing from above there he gave (them) to Dr. John, Blow however twice gave
náyant waítashtat. Hû'kt pil nä'dshek; hû'ksha toks, nánka k̲á-i hû'nasht
another on day. This one (was) the only one; those (men) (did), other (men) not like (him)
shéwanat shí'ukshtka gíug Doctor Johnash. Tchúshak lápi sha shíkĕnitksh
gave (my food) kill in order to Dr. John. Constantly two (men) they a pistol
[55] 12 shishí'tilatk shlíutuapkug hû'nk. Agency tchúi gépksht tapí' tí'ta shash,
were carrying in their dress to fire on him. To the Agency (they) had gone after a while they,
ktlugíulank k̲á-ishtish, tchúi wátch hátokt tkû'tkapksh shláank gé'hlap-
he kicked open the door-cover, and a horse there standing finding (he) mounted
tchapka, m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Tchúi gí'ta hushótpa agency, tchúi
it, his son having come (with the horse). Then here he rode up to the agency, and
15 yá-uks-mĕnámksh gátpĕnank gulí'. Tchúi agencí'nish lák̲iash hashashu-
in the physician's house coming entered. And to the agent he ap-
ákia, Mínnash shahamúyank shnû'ntatka lák̲iash hashashuakítki gíug.
pl ed, for Minnie sending to interpret the agent for conversing with.

NOTES.

64, 1. In September 1877 Púkish, an elderly Indian, died after a very short illness on the western side of Upper Klamath Lake. The rumor that he had been bewitched and thereby feloniously killed by K̲ákash, one of the conjurers who treated him, soon gained credence, and the excitement in the tribe ran high. The first account of the occurrence was obtained by one of the subchiefs, who, with his colleagues, passed sentence over the unfortunate K̲ákash.

[192] [193] [551] [769] **64, 1.** hû't, "this one", forms one of the substitutes for names of deceased persons, which no Indian dares to pronounce. Hû't refers to a person standing visibly *before* the speaker, and it is remarkable that the dead are referred to by this pronoun, and not by a pronoun marking distance out of sight, like hûkt, hû'kta etc. Cf. hû't híshuaksh, **64, 9.**, gén, **64, 2.**, hû'nk pl'sh, **64, 5.**, **68, 11.** etc. The subject nánka kukíuks does not exclude the use of the subject pronoun sha, *they*, the account being worded in the conversational style.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

77, 1. The name Púl is pronounced in very different ways, and most people think it is the English name Ball; Póluk is Pō'l hû'k; tchía, "lived", would be preferable to t'shín in this connection.

77, 2. 3. kă'tsa, kétsa properly means to cast away; here: to abandon, leave; almost identical with wutódsna occurring below, 78, 2.

77, 4. sāwána saa: he did not give many horses for her to her parents.

78, 8. pállank saa. This shash properly refers to Pámpi and his family, for Púl's wife took the dug-out canoe of Pámpi and rowed with it to the soldiers. This was in the northeastern part of Upper Klamath Lake, and occurred in the winter of 1876–77.

78, 13. É-nstat is the location of the old agency buildings at Kohásht, in northeast corner of Upper Klamath Lake.

78, 14. hl'-l. On that occasion Ball left his wagon in the midst of the woods; hi, hi-i means "on the ground".

78, 15. nă'ulya sha pi'n. About the middle of September 1877 a strong escort of Indians brought Ball and his wife to the "law-house" at the Klamath agency to be tried by the chiefs. A delay of several days occurred before he was confronted with the judges, and during the time he was imprisoned at the "skúkum-house", a strong log cabin at the agency serving as jail. He is still a very young man, and on being brought there he was allowed to ride on horseback with a rifle on his shoulders. His father is an Indian from the Spokane tribe, and Spúkăn is his name.

78, 16. sχókta, to pay a fine; to be fined (by the chiefs). See: "Legal Customs", 62, 5.

GAMES OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

I.

É-ukshikni shákĕluk shí-t'χaga yámnash, wátch, skútash tchish.
The Lake people in gambling win from each other beads, horses, blankets also.

Vû'nip shulshéshlank; láp mû'mĕni, sχû'tash tchish lápi ndshekáne.
With four (sticks) they play the stick-game; (there are) two thick (sticks), skin-covered sticks also two slender.

Ndshékansh sha sχétchashtka shlín, mû'mĕnish toksh a yû'shakĕnank
At the slender (sticks) they with index and middle finger guess, at the thick (ones) however (they) with index finger

shlín; vû'ish sha klátchnank shlín, tχopowátka tch lénank shlín. Wû'ishtka
guess; at the vûish they moving hand sideways guess, with the thumb also making a do move they guess at. By the vûish

toks sha nă'shak kshē'sh wí-uka; sχétchashtka sha láp wí-uka kshē'sh,
they only one counting-stick (can) win; with index and middle finger they two win counting-sticks,

yû'shχish spélshisht. Tchúi sa kĕléwi udúiwisham l'χaguk nánuk.
the index having put forward. Then they stop, from the losers when they have won all (stakes).